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*An Inquiry into the Statistics of Crime in England and Wales.** By
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tistical Society of London.

[*Read before the Statistical Section of the British Association,
27th and 28th August, 1839.*]

UNDESERVED ridicule has been cast upon some attempts which have been made to show that moral phenomena are subject to established and general laws ; for surely there can be no reason for denying that moral, no less than physical, phenomena may be found to be controlled and determined by peculiar laws. Science has taught, and daily experience proves, that the universe is regulated upon a uniform and immutable system ; that the several parts coexist and are kept together by means of fixed laws ; that nothing is left to its own control, or is liable to derangement or accident ; and that what appear to our imperfect senses to be variations, form part of one comprehensive and perfect system.

Mankind is not exempt from these laws. It is not denied that the human body, its organic functions, its formation, growth, and decay, are in every way governed by the same principles which regulate the rest of the animal division of nature. Some of these principles have already been discovered and explained, and their universal existence, though hidden from us, admits not of a doubt. Comparative anatomy has carried our knowledge still further ; it has brought to light analogies between the animal and vegetable world which were not so obvious, and therefore were never suspected ; it has displayed the uniformity which prevails throughout the whole creation, the secret adaptation of one part to another, the admirable method with which the actions of one member supply the necessities or correct the contrary tendencies of another.

Upon these points there is a general agreement. Neither can it be denied that the mind is subject to such laws ; for however high and independent its functions, however great its energy and versatility, there must be a limit to its powers, otherwise man would be able to counteract the order of nature and to disturb the harmony which the Creator has established. But if it be found that even within its allotted space, the passions and tendencies of the mind are the same, subject to the same influences, and exhibiting the same results, modified only by external circumstances ; that the same mental and moral phenomena apparently arise from similar causes, and reproduce under all conditions nearly the same effects,—we are justified in supposing that not only is there a limit, but also a law, to the actions of the mind. This is most strongly marked in the infant mind, which, in all climates, and apart

* This inquiry, in its present form, is incomplete. It is the author's intention to pursue his examination further with regard to England and Wales, and to extend it to the other divisions of the United Kingdom. In the mean time the results already obtained, having been brought before the British Association, are published in their present form, with the view of exciting discussion, and of eliciting suggestions and information which may conduce to a thorough elucidation of the subject.

from external influences, exhibits no difference, except with regard to temper, which may be sufficiently accounted for by the varieties in the physical condition of the individual: but as the mind develops itself, it immediately begins to diverge in various directions according to the circumstances in which the individual is placed; such as the healthiness of the parent or nurse, acting upon the body, and so affecting the mind, or her moral education influencing the disposition, and giving direction to its impulses. Some indeed have gone further, and have even asserted that the passions are wholly subject to outward impressions; that if a child were so brought up, that it should never see a person weep except from pleasure, nor smile except in grief or anger, it would adopt weeping as the symbol of joy, and mirth as the token of sorrow, and would express its own feelings in that contrary manner.

But to turn from mere metaphysical speculation to fact, let us take for an example the relative amount of crime committed by males and females. The number of the two sexes in European countries is nearly equal, the preponderance being somewhat on the side of the females. It might be supposed that the natural tendency to crime in the two sexes would be the same, and the number of criminals among each be equal. But it is found that, both in England * and France,† the proportion of male to female criminals is about four to one; and that result varies but slightly during several years. Whence arises this uniformity from year to year, and this similarity between the two countries? There must either be a general law by which the proportions are regulated, or they must be the result of the different circumstances in which the sexes are placed. The first, if it exists, does not appear to be beyond the reach of man's knowledge, because it can be ascertained by repeated observation of the character of crime in various countries; and the latter are obviously capable of being noted, classified, and estimated. In the present state of moral science we can only suppose that the uniformity in the two countries is the result of the constant character of the tendency to commit crime, and that the similarity arises from the two countries being in the same state of civilisation, and the two sexes exposed to similar influences in each.

If it were found that a different proportion existed among the Turks or Hindoos, we should be led to believe that such a result arose from the dissimilarity in the education and social condition of females in those nations. But the very fact, if it exists, would prove the possibility, if not of assigning laws to the actions of the mind, at least of determining their probable results, by estimating the several external circumstances by which they may be influenced. If we had the means of ascertaining correctly the amount and nature of crime in the several countries of the world, and all the circumstances of their social condition, we should be able, by comparison, to ascribe to each circumstance its relative power of inducement to crime, and arrive at the laws which regulate criminality. For if it be found by experience that any particular crime is most commonly perpetrated by persons of a certain sex, or age, or class of life, will it be said that there is a fixed law in their breasts which induces

* See p. 321.

† See *Statistique Comparée de la Criminalité en France, en Belgique, &c.* Par Ed. Duceptiaux., p. 9.

them to commit that crime because they are of that sex or rank of life, or when they attain that age? or will it not rather be admitted that the act arises from the desire to gratify some passion common to all of the same sex or age, and that the individual adopts the means most suitable and convenient to his actual condition in those respects, and avails himself of the external circumstances by which he is surrounded? These are not abstract qualities, but material or visible objects, which can be both discerned and estimated; and, if so, the tendency to crime, under various conditions, may be determined with a precision proportioned to the number, extent, and accuracy of our observations.

It may, however, be urged that there is such a diversity in the action of the mind; it is subject to such various and subtle influences, that we cannot separate and define its impulses, or estimate with correctness its operations. But are these more various than the form and size of animals or plants? Yet the naturalist hesitates not about the classification of either. Are they more diversified than the features of man? Yet who can mistake an European from an Asiatic, or the latter from an inhabitant of Africa? Even the fickle wind and the apparently uncontrollable hurricane are found to be subject to strict laws, and to be as constant as any other physical phenomenon. All these objects of animate and inanimate nature, which are scarcely less fluctuating or apparently less capricious than the mind of man, have been divided and classed, and their ordinary appearances and actions described with accuracy. This knowledge has been acquired by means of long and patient processes, and is the effect of classification and induction, which have hitherto been little used in the examination of the mind and its operations. With the aid of these instruments it will be found that mental and moral phenomena do not present such insuperable obstacles to examination; and although it may be long before we acquire the means of accurately scrutinizing them, or the knowledge of properly applying those means, yet that time advances, and every contribution to moral statistics tends to hasten its approach.

But even if it be impossible for man to attain to this perfect science, yet when, by extensive and repeated observations, the recurrence of certain constant and uniform tendencies has been ascertained and developed, reason may be satisfied with these as the evidence of probabilities, and the legislator will find them far more safe and useful guides than the mere assumptions and *à priori* theories of speculative moral philosophers.

One of the most important branches of moral statistics is that which relates to the commission of crime, and it is one of those which is most easily susceptible of numerical computation. The nature of the act is generally sufficient to indicate the object aimed at; the sex, age, civil and social condition of the offender point out the principal circumstances which influence the method of the act; the degree of instruction which the party has received and the religious knowledge of which he is possessed,—for both of which adequate tests may be prepared,—show the degree of moral restraint to which he is subject, and the intensity of the passion which bursts through that restraint; while the immediate motives, when not inferable from the visible circumstances of the case, will be found upon investigation to be much fewer in number, more

simple in character, and easier of detection and classification, than is generally supposed. A Committee of the Statistical Society of London, which numbered among its members several persons who have devoted much consideration to this subject, found that almost all crimes could be referred to one of four motives, *viz.*, desire of gain, indulgence of sexual desire, malice, and wantonness.*

Of the above particulars the Criminal Returns of this country exhibit only a part, *viz.*, the nature of the act, the sex, age, and degree of instruction of the party committed for trial; and even upon these points there exist in these tables several sources of imperfection. The nature of the act is defined according to the technical phraseology of the law, neglecting the many important distinctions in the character and moral turpitude of the offences. The degree of instruction also is not shown in connexion with the age of the offenders, so that the influence of the former at various ages, and the progress of instruction at intervals of years, cannot be ascertained. Still it would be well if these were the only deficiencies in these Returns. But with regard to the amount, and even the character, of crime in this country, they are still more imperfect, and, if taken by themselves as the index of either, would lead to the gravest error. They exhibit only the persons committed for trial before the Courts of Quarter Sessions and Circuit Assizes or in Local Courts, and do not include those summarily convicted or discharged by magistrates, or by Petty Sessions. It will scarcely be believed that of these last no general record exists: the only information that is complete for the whole of England and Wales, is the number of persons sentenced to imprisonment upon summary convictions, which has been collected and published by the Inspectors of Prisons in their Report for 1838; but this is only for one year; and the number of offenders tried and acquitted, or sentenced to fines or other punishments, has never been ascertained. The average annual number of convictions before the Quarter Sessions, Circuit Assizes, and Local Courts, during the 5 years from 1834 to 1838, was 15,874; the number of persons sentenced by summary conviction to imprisonment, during the year ended Michaelmas 1837, was 59,364.† If therefore the proportion of acquittals to convictions by magistrates be not less than that occurring before the higher courts, and there is every reason to believe that it is greater, the number of cases summarily dealt with by the former would be at least four times as great as the number brought before the higher courts. But the Returns made by the Commissioners of Metropolitan Police enable us to form a more exact idea of the number of summary convictions. In 1837 the number of persons convicted by magistrates within the Metropolitan District for offences, exclusive of drunkenness and other mere infractions of police, ‡ was three times as great as the number committed for trial, § and the number discharged was four times the number of commitments; || so that the number charged was altogether eight times as great as the number brought before the higher courts. But it is pro-

* See vol. i. p. 174.

† Third Report of Inspectors of Prisons. Home District, p. 36.

‡ *Viz.*, disorderly characters, reputed thieves, suspicious characters, and vagrants.

§ Number summarily convicted, 9577; number committed for trial, 3028.

|| Number discharged, 12,781.

bable that the proportion of summary convictions to commitments is higher in the metropolis than in the rural districts, where the obstacles to speedy justice are so numerous that persons will generally forego complaints of small importance rather than be exposed to the inconvenience of prosecution. In London, also, the proportion of persons discharged by the magistrates will be greater than in the rural districts, as the existence and continual presence of an efficient police causes a greater number of persons to be arrested on justifiable suspicion, against whom the legal evidence is insufficient to ensure a conviction. With regard to the character of the offences for which persons are summarily convicted, although it is true that a considerable portion of these are of a trifling nature, yet a large number of serious cases, of the same description and equal gravity with those tried at the Assizes, are adjudicated by magistrates. It is obvious therefore that the Criminal Returns in their present form neither indicate the whole number of persons apprehended or punished for serious offences, nor afford any information whatever with regard to petty offences, which form by far the most numerous class.

In this respect the returns of France and Belgium are complete, as they embrace the courts of correctional and simple police, as well as those of assize. Moreover, they include several criminal offences which are usually tried in England before the civil courts, and which are not taken into the accounts of crime committed in this country; such as adultery, libel, fraudulent bankruptcies, &c.* No adequate estimate of the frequency or tendency of crime in this country can be formed until this information be supplied; and it will become necessary for those who are desirous that the subject should be thoroughly investigated to call loudly upon the proper authorities to lay it before the public.

There are also further difficulties in the way of inquiry into this subject. If the administration of the law remained stationary, the proportion of offences annually determined before the higher and inferior courts would continue relatively the same; but the criminal law of England is at present in a state of transition, and is every year undergoing great changes: local courts and petty sessions are increasing in number; capital punishments are being gradually abolished; large classes of offences are newly brought within the jurisdiction of magistrates; and thus the means of comparison from year to year are wholly destroyed. It must also be borne in mind that the most complete record of the number of criminals arrested does not exhibit the amount of crime committed, as the former depends, in a great measure, upon the disposition of the injured parties or the public to prosecute, and the efficiency of the system of police. There is not in England, as in Scotland and France, a public officer in each county, whose duty it is to ascertain and record every offence which is committed; nor a public prosecutor, who is bound to exert himself to bring all offenders to justice, without reference to the feelings or desires of the persons who have been injured. Hence crime may abound most where arrests are least numerous; and the very freedom from molestation tends to encourage and embolden the criminal.

* The two latter offences are sometimes, but very rarely, tried in the criminal courts.

For these reasons great caution must be observed in examining the criminal returns of the United Kingdom ; and many of the results must be considered only as approximations to the truth, and liable to be invalidated by more comprehensive returns. In their present form, however, they afford the means of certain comparisons, which will serve to throw light upon the moral statistics of the people, and which will now be severally noticed in the most convenient order.

Number of Offences.

The average annual number of persons committed or bailed to take their trial before the quarter sessions, assizes, and local courts, held in England and Wales during the last five years, was 22,174. The difference between the highest and lowest annual numbers during the period was 14 per cent. For the reasons previously stated the annual increase or decrease is no index of the prevalence of crime, but it may be taken as evidence of the operation of the laws. In this point of view there was a considerable decrease in the number of commitments in 1835 and 1836 compared with 1834, amounting, on the average of these two years, to 8 per cent. ; while in 1837 and 1838 there was an average increase of 4 per cent. compared with 1834, and of 12 per cent. compared with the two intermediate years. But it is worthy of remark, that this variation was very different in the two sexes. The decrease during 1835 and 1836 occurred entirely among the male sex ; for the number of female committals was somewhat greater ; and the increase in 1837 and 1838 was more than three times as great among the females as among the males. The average increase of males during the last two years of the quinquennial period compared with the average of the first two was 5·9 per cent., while among the females it was 19·4 per cent.

In consequence of this the relative proportion of female to male offenders has increased 2 per cent. during the five years. In 1834 it was 15·9 to 84·1 per cent., and in 1838 it was 18·1 to 81·9 per cent. The average of the whole period was 17·2 females to 82·8 males.

The variation has also been very different in the several classes of offences. In the present tables the offences are divided into six classes, which have reference exclusively to the acts of parliament under which the offenders are tried. These consist of,—

1. Offences against the person.
2. " against property, committed with violence.
3. " against property, committed without violence.
4. Malicious offences against property.
5. Forgery and offences against the currency.
6. Other offences, not included in the above classes.

A slight examination of these divisions will show that the principle upon which they are founded is highly defective ; and this has been ably demonstrated by Mr. Symonds in a paper read before the Statistical Society of London, and published in its Proceedings (p. 193). Another paper upon the same subject, by Mr. H. Romilly of Manchester, appeared in the last miscellaneous publication of the Statistical

Society of that town. That gentleman's views, however, do not accord with those of Mr. Symonds.*

The first defect of the present classification consists in the definition of the offences, which is legal, and consequently technical. The same category, and sometimes the same term, embraces all qualities and degrees of criminality. An assault may mean either a violent attack, by which the life of an individual is seriously endangered, or the mere act of laying a whip on a person's shoulder, without the infliction of a blow. Attempts to injure or murder by stabbing, shooting, and poisoning, are all classed together, although they severally indicate very different offences, both in mode and degree of criminality. But the classification of the offences is still more defective for the purposes of moral investigation. It is based upon no distinct principle; but the effects produced, and the means used, are indiscriminately adopted as characteristics of the offences. The motives which induce the commission of a crime, or the tendencies of which the act is the evidence, are wholly overlooked. Mr. Symonds has suggested a new principle of classification, which we have adopted, and which we shall have occasion presently to explain. For our present object of showing the relative increase of different kinds of offences, during the five years in question, the classes used in the official tables will be sufficient.

It appears, then, that the number of offenders against the person committed for trial has gradually decreased to the extent of 19 per cent. on the average of the last two compared with that of the first two years of the period. Malicious offences against property, compared in the same manner, have decreased 36 per cent., while offences against property, with violence, have increased 7 per cent.; and offences against property, without violence, together with forgery, and offences against the currency, have each increased 19 per cent. The latter two classes are those in which the proportion of female offenders is greatest; and the former of the two includes more than three-fourths of the whole number of offences, which is the cause of the proportionately greater increase already noticed in the number of female committals. But this comparison must not be used as testimony with regard to the general increase or decrease of particular classes of crime, for it is precisely that upon which the recent changes in the criminal law has had most influenced. Many grave offences have lately been brought within the

* Mr. Romilly divides offences into two great classes, viz.—

1st. Offences against private, or assignable, persons.

2nd. , , the community or public.

The first division contains four classes—

1st. Offences against the person.

2nd. , , the property.

3rd. , , the reputation, as libel, &c.

4th. , , the condition, as bigamy, child-stealing, &c.

The second division contains six classes—

1st. Offences against the safety and comfort of the public, as nuisances, &c.

2nd. , , public morals, as drunkenness, gambling, &c.

3rd. , , religion, as blasphemy, irreligious publications, &c.

4th. , , the course of justice, as obstructing public constables, perjury, &c.

5th. , , Government, as high treason, political libels, &c.

6th. , , the public revenue or wealth, as smuggling, destroying machinery, &c.

jurisdiction of magistrates, and the establishment or re-modelling of local courts and petty sessions has afforded increased facilities for the speedy trial of less serious cases, which magistrates were formerly unwilling to send to the assizes or quarter sessions.

Classification of Offences.

The first great division of the subject which deserves our notice is the nature of the offences committed. The classification adopted in the official tables has been already described, and its chief defects explained. Mr. Symonds, in his amended outline, has classed the offences comprised in those tables according to the motives from which they may be supposed to spring, and reduces them to four heads, under which all conceivable crimes may be comprehended.

1. Stealing, which he subdivides into three heads :—
 - (a) Simple, without force.
 - (b) By fraud.
 - (c) By force.
2. Sexual offences, or offences arising from sexual desire.
3. Malicious offences.
4. Offences against the state, including,—
 - (a) Stealing, as in other cases.
 - (b) Evasion of the state authority.
 - (c) Breaches of the peace, and defiance of the state authority.

This classification has been adopted in the following inquiry, with some modifications of slight importance. Mr. Symonds makes stealing the first of his divisions, because it is the most frequent crime, and prevails at all ages and under all conditions. A different order has been adopted in the tables upon which the following results are based. Sexual offences have been placed first, because they arise from a more simple motive than any other class of crime. They spring from a desire to gratify a mere animal passion, without direct reference to any other person or object ; for if that passion could be gratified without injury or annoyance to another person, the desire of the criminal would be equally attained. Such at least is the character of the two principal offences in this class, viz., criminal assaults upon females and unnatural crimes. Others are included in which the distinction is not so strongly marked, but which are much less numerous, and which chiefly spring from the indulgence of sexual desire, viz., attempts to procure the miscarriage of women, and concealing the birth of infants ; while in some it remains doubtful whether the object is lust or the desire of gain, as abduction and bigamy, and in one, the keeping of disorderly houses, the object is decidedly the desire of gain by administering to the sexual passions of others. Malicious offences, which include those arising from wantonness, are placed next, because the aim of the offender is to gratify some passion, as, for instance, revenge, or the love of mischief, by doing injury to some person or thing. In this class the desire of the offender has reference rather to an object than to an action, and cannot be gratified without the infliction of evil upon some other object. In theft, which forms the third class, the offence arises from a desire to obtain possession of an object by which some passion may be gratified. In the two preceding classes the act constitutes the desired end, but in

this the act affords only the means to that end. These distinctions may appear to be too finely drawn ; but if they are correct in principle, they cannot be unprofitable in investigating one of the most subtle objects, the nature of crime. The fourth class is the same as in Mr. Symonds' outline, and includes offences against the State, such as—

Stealing ; by fraud, as coining ;
 , , by force, as smuggling and resisting officers with violence.

Defiance or evasion of the state authority ;

by fraud, as perjury ;

by force, as riot and resisting peace officers.

To this it has been necessary to add a fifth class, which contains a small number of offences not specified in the official tables,* and which under the proposed system of classification, would be divided among the other four heads. Each of these will be examined separately, and a more minute description will be given of the offences which they include.

In order to afford a fair average for statistical deductions, the Returns for England and Wales, of as many years as the official tables have been prepared with uniformity upon the present system, have been thrown together. In most of the particulars this has been done for five years ; but, with respect to the degree of instruction, the necessary information has only been obtained during four years, and some difference in the headings during the first year of that period renders it impossible to amalgamate the return with those for the subsequent years. The remaining number, however, is fully sufficient to form a fair average for the purposes of the present inquiry.

The total number of offenders annually committed for trial on the average of the whole period was 22,174. Of these only a small portion, amounting to 537, or 2·4 per cent., were sexual offences belonging to the first class. All the crimes contained in this class, with one exception, have been already enumerated.

The second class, consisting of malicious offences, is divided into acts against property, and acts against the person. The former subdivision is identical with the fourth class, having the same title, in the official tables. The chief offences included in it are arson and wilful fire-raising, injuries to cattle, and destruction of buildings, machinery, trees, and other articles. The number of offenders in this class was very small, not exceeding 138, or less than 1 per cent. (0·62) of the total number. The average annual number in the second subdivision, which consists of assaults, attempts to maim and murder, manslaughter and murder, was 1174, or somewhat more than 5 per cent. (5·3). This class exhibits a striking instance of the defectiveness of the official tables, in not separating attempts to maim from attempts at murder, the objects and qualities of which offences are wholly different.

If universality gave a right of priority in the classification of crimes, as contended by Mr. Symonds, Theft ought indeed to be placed at the head of the table. It forms $\frac{17}{47}$ ths (84·5 per cent.) of the whole number of offences. This class contains three subdivisions. The first includes all kinds of theft without violence, such as simple larceny, stealing from houses or from the person, thefts and embezzlements by

* "Felonies," and "misdemeanors not included in the preceding denominations."

servants, stealing of animals of all descriptions, and receiving stolen goods, and is by far the most numerous, having contributed 16,663 cases, or exactly $\frac{3}{4}$ ths (75.14 per cent.) of the whole number of offences. The second subdivision, which consists of thefts by fraud, viz., simple frauds, forgery of deeds and other instruments, with the exception of bank notes, and conspiracy to raise the rate of wages, contained 497 cases, or 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. (2.24) of the whole number. The remaining subdivision contains thefts by force, of which the chief are burglary and housebreaking, robbery and poaching. The total number of offenders in this section was 1579, and the proportion to the total was 7 per cent. (7.12), of which burglars and housebreakers constituted two-thirds (4.54 per cent.).

The fourth class, composed of offences against the State, furnished 1500 cases, amounting to 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. (6.77) of the whole number. This class includes coining and forgery of bank notes, of which there were 355 cases, or 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., a few cases of aiding smugglers, riots and breaches of the peace, resisting, assaulting, or refusing to aid peace-officers, prison-breaking and returning from transportation, perjury, and administering unlawful oaths. The remaining class contains only 86 offences, or less than $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. (0.39) of the whole number. To recapitulate—the proportion of thefts was 84.5 per cent.; of offences against the State, 6.77 per cent.; of malicious offences, 5.92 per cent.; of sexual offences, 2.42 per cent.; and of unenumerated offences, 0.39.

Taking the 20 principal offences in their relative order, according to the number of persons annually committed for each, they will stand thus:—

1	Simple larceny	.	.	.	.	.	.	12,303
2	Stealing from the person	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,539
3	Housebreaking and burglary (united)	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,007
4	Stealing by servants	.	.	.	.	.	.	955
5	Assaults	.	.	.	.	.	.	756
6	Receiving stolen goods	.	.	.	.	.	.	683
7	Riot and breach of the peace	.	.	.	.	.	.	607
8	Resisting, assaulting, or refusing to aid peace-officers	.	.	.	.	.	.	579
9	Frauds and attempts to defraud	.	.	.	.	.	.	425
10	Robbery and attempts at robbery	.	.	.	.	.	.	392
11	Uttering counterfeit coin	.	.	.	.	.	.	318
12	Sheep-stealing	.	.	.	.	.	.	292
13	Embezzlement	.	.	.	.	.	.	262
14	Manslaughter	.	.	.	.	.	.	209
15	Rape, and attempts to ravish	.	.	.	.	.	.	188
16	Stealing from houses to the value of £5.	.	.	.	.	.	.	178
17	Stealing of fixtures, trees, and shrubs	.	.	.	.	.	.	163
18	Horse-stealing	.	.	.	.	.	.	155
19	Poaching	.	.	.	.	.	.	153
20	Keeping disorderly houses	.	.	.	.	.	.	145

Influence of Sex.

Great differences, however, are manifested in the proportions of the two sexes taken separately. In the class of sexual offences the percentage proportion of females is twice as great as that of males, being 3.6 to 2.1 per cent. In malicious offences against property it is only one half, 0.32 to 0.68, and in similar offences against the person about $\frac{3}{8}$ ths of the proportion among males (3.5 to 5.6 per cent.). In thefts without violence, it is $\frac{1}{6}$ th the greater (84 to 73 per cent.), in thefts by

fraud $\frac{1}{5}$ th the less (1.9 to 2.3 per cent.), and in thefts by force it is more than $\frac{4}{5}$ ths less (1.9 to 8.2 per cent.). In coining, the proportion of females is double that of the males (2.6 to 1.3 per cent.), and in the remaining offences against the State, it is $\frac{3}{7}$ ths less (4.1 to 7.3 per cent.).

By means of these differences may be traced the various tendencies to criminality among the two sexes. There are several offences enumerated in the tables for which no female has been committed, viz., abduction, destruction of hop-binds, trees, and shrubs, cattle-stealing, conspiracy to raise the rate of wages, robbery in dwelling-houses accompanied with violence, poaching game and fish, deer-stealing, aiding smugglers, and administering unlawful oaths; and there are several others in which the proportion of females is very small. In most of these, particularly those enumerated, the nature of the offences is such that females have no inducement, or from physical weakness have no capacity, to commit them. It might be supposed that there were also some offences wholly peculiar to the female sex; but this is not the case, for even in the offence of which the largest relative proportion of females are guilty, viz., concealment of the birth of infants, males share to the extent of 5 per cent. It is worthy of remark, and may be interesting in a legal point of view, that during the five years there were two committals of females for rape, and one for an unnatural crime.* The tables do not afford the means of ascertaining whether they were put upon their trial, or the charge was previously abandoned.†

The relative proportion of females to males in the several classes of crime above described is as follows. It is greatest in offences against the currency, and amounts to 28.5 per cent. :—

	Per Cent.
In sexual offences it amounts to	25.7
,, thefts without force	19.3
,, ditto by fraud	14.6
,, malicious offences against the person	11.6
,, ditto property	9.
,, offences against the state	4.9
,, thefts by force	4.5

From this it will be seen that the offences which are most common among females are generally those in which force is not required: but upon examining the offences separately, omitting those in which the numbers are too small to admit of a fair comparison, it will be found that there is one remarkable exception, which is the crime of murder. This is the only violent offence which exceeds the average, and the excess amounts to 58 per cent. This fact may be accounted for upon the supposition that cases of infanticide are included under the head of murder; which is probable, as that crime is not separately distinguished in the tables, and because the proportion of cases of murder to those of attempts to maim or murder, is as 4 to 3 among females, while among males the rate is reversed, and is as 2 to 5. This can only be explained by the circumstance of infanticide forming a considerable portion of the

* In France also, during the year 1836, two females were put upon their trial for rape.

† It was stated in the Section by a gentleman who was present at the trial of one of these females for aiding a rape, that she was convicted and sentenced to transportation.

murders committed by females : for it is obvious that attempts at infanticide can rarely fail ; while, on the other hand, it is almost certain that, in attempts at murder, men are more likely to fulfil their purpose on account of their superior strength. A reference to the French tables confirms this view : for, in the year 1836, while the proportion of murders by females was 37 per cent., including infanticide, it was only 15 per cent. exclusive of that crime, which proportion was 3 per cent. less than the average aggregate proportion of females ; and further, whereas the attempts at murder, exclusive of infanticide, were about half as many as the number of murders, there were only two incomplete attempts among 15.3 cases of infanticide. This instance affords another proof of the imperfect classification of the English tables, and of the caution with which they must be examined.

Of other crimes there is only one which is almost peculiar to females, viz., concealment of the birth of infants, and in this the excess arises from an obvious physical cause, the sex. There are only two other offences in which the females predominate, viz., child-stealing, in which the proportion is 70 per cent., and keeping disorderly houses, in which it amounts to 57.3 per cent. The remaining offences exhibit a very great decrease in the proportion : they rank according to their relative frequency as follows :—

	Per Cent.
Receiving stolen goods	33.6
Thefts from the person	29.4
Uttering counterfeit coin	29.3
Thefts by servants	28.3
Murder	27.3
Counterfeiting coin	26.
Stealing in dwelling-houses to the value of £5.	22.7
Bigamy	21.4
Indecently exposing the person	19.8
Prison-breaking and returning from transportation	19.4
<hr/>	
Average of all offences	<u>17.2</u>

Of offences in which the proportion is below the average, it is only necessary to name the chief.—

	Per Cent.
Arson	16.5
Frauds	16.1
Assaults	12.4
Attempts to maim and murder	8.4
Robbery and attempts at robbery	6.5
Riot and breach of the peace	5.3
Manslaughter	5.2
Burglary and housebreaking	4.7

Influence of Age.

The next point for consideration is the ages of the offenders, which are divided into eight periods in the official tables. No greater proof can be given of the possibility of arriving at certain constants with regard to crime, than the fact which appears in the following table, that the greatest variation which has taken place during the last three years, in the proportion of any class of criminals at the same period of life, has not exceeded $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. :—

Table I. Centesimal proportion of offenders at each age.

	1836.	1837.	1838.	Greatest difference.
Under 12 years	1.84	1.52	1.58	0.32
From 12 to 16	9.71	9.72	9.92	0.21
, 17, 21	29.03	29.23	29.13	0.20
, 22, 30	31.42	31.74	31.24	0.50
, 31, 40	14.43	14.56	14.75	0.32
, 41, 50	6.76	6.65	7.02	0.37
, 51, 60	3.33	3.24	3.00	0.33
Above 60	1.40	1.55	1.58	0.18
Not ascertained	2.08	1.79	1.78	0.30
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	

It may therefore be assumed that the following averages, which are taken upon a period of five years, are correct. There are two modes of considering the prevalence of crime at different ages. The first, which is usually adopted because it is the least troublesome, is to compare the number of offenders at each age with the total number; but this only serves to show the relative frequency with reference to offenders at other periods of life, and not the positive frequency of crime among the population at each age. Thus the relative proportion of male offenders between 21 and 30 is 32.4 per cent. of the whole number, and that of males between 16 and 21 is only 2 per cent. less (30 per cent.), but the former period embraces nine years and the latter only five; and the number of males living in the same periods respectively is as 14 to 9.* The frequency therefore of crime is more than one-half greater (56 per cent.) among persons between 16 and 21, than among those between 21 and 30. The second method is by comparing the number of offenders at each age with the population at the same age; and this comparison would not admit of error, if the periods of years in the two Returns were similar; but this unfortunately is not the case in the present instance. The data, however, admit of some comparisons, which although not exact, are sufficiently near for the purpose, and offer some highly interesting results.

Of the whole number of offenders of both sexes,—

11.7 per cent. were under 17		
30.0	„	from 17 to 21
32.2	„	, 22, 30
14.6	„	, 31, 40
6.9	„	, 41, 50
3.2	„	, 51, 60
1.4	„	above 60
		100.0

The proportions of the total population, at periods very nearly corresponding, show that there is no relation whatever between the number of individuals and that of offenders at the same ages, and will prove how great is the influence which age exerts upon the tendency to crime.

* The period in the Criminal Tables is from 17 to 21, and in the Population Returns from 16 to 20; but as they each embrace the same number of years, at a period of life when the numbers at each year are most uniform, the comparison may be drawn without risk of any great error.

Per-centge proportion of the population of both sexes.					
Under 16	.	.	.	33.1	per Cent.*
From 16 to 20	.	.	.	10.	,
,, 21 ,, 30	.	.	.	15.8	,
,, 31 ,, 40	.	.	.	11.9	,
,, 41 ,, 50	.	.	.	9.4	,
,, 51 ,, 60	.	.	.	6.6	,
Above 60	.	.	.	7.2	,
				100.0	

Hence the proportion of offenders under 17, after making allowance for the difference of one year in the two standards of comparison, is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ times less than that of the population ; between 17 and 21 it is 3 times as great ; between 22 and 30 it is twice as great ; between 31 and 40 it is $\frac{1}{3}$ th greater ; between 41 and 50 it is $\frac{1}{4}$ th less ; between 51 and 60 it amounts to only $\frac{1}{2}$, and above 60 it is 5 times less. Thus crime is shown to reach its maximum between 16 and 21, during which period its relative proportion is $\frac{1}{3}$ rd greater than that of the population ; it diminishes $\frac{1}{3}$ rd from 21 to 30, and a further fifth between 31 and 40, after which the proportion begins to change, and becomes less than that of the population, diminishing rapidly until in old age, or above 60, it is considerably less than in youth under 15.

This comparison may be shown in another manner. The average population of England and Wales, during the five years under examination, may be assumed to be 15,026,447. This number is obtained in the following manner. The mean of the five years is 1836, which is also the mean of the decennial period from 1831 to 1841. The population of that year may therefore be found by adding to that of 1831, at a rate equal to half the increase during the previous decennial period. Adopting this total, and the proportions above given, the numbers existing at each period of life will be as follow :—

Under 16	.	.	.	5,875,340
From 16 to 20	.	.	.	1,502,644
,, 21 ,, 30	.	.	.	2,374,178
,, 31 ,, 40	.	.	.	1,788,147
,, 41 ,, 50	.	.	.	1,412,486
,, 51 ,, 60	.	.	.	991,745
Above 60	.	.	.	1,081,907
Total	.	.	.	15,026,447

The following, therefore, is the proportion of offenders annually committed to the population at each interval of age, adding to the number under 16 one-fifth of the number between 16 and 20, and taking away, from that between 21 and 30, one-tenth, in order to equalise the periods of comparison :—

	No. of Offences annually committed on the average of the five years.	Proportion of Offences to the Population.
Under 17	2,539	one offence in 2,432 individuals.
From 17 to 21	6,468	232
,, 22 ,, 30	6,997	305
,, 31 ,, 40	3,184	561
,, 41 ,, 50	1,501	941
,, 51 ,, 60	703	1,410
Above 60	319	3,391

* Calculated upon the Population Returns of 1821, which was the last census in which the ages were taken.

This table, it must be borne in mind, does not serve to show the positive frequency of crime, but merely its relative frequency at different ages; because it may be presumed that the ages of offenders not arrested or summarily convicted, do not materially differ from those of offenders committed for trial. There is, also, a circumstance which will in some degree disturb the above proportions. The number of persons employed abroad in the army and at sea will considerably diminish the proportion remaining at home, and liable to the commission of crime, between 18 and 35; therefore the tendency to crime between those ages will be even higher than that above shown, and a corresponding influence will be exerted upon the other periods of life.

These proportions are very different from those shown by M. Guerry to exist in France during the 6 years from 1825 to 1830.* In his statements the males and females are shown separately, and cannot be thrown together; but, as the difference in the proportions of the two sexes is not great, and as, in England, it is found that the number of male offenders is so much greater than that of females, that the proportions of the sexes united differs very slightly—never more than $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. from those of the males alone—the proportions for males will serve as a standard.

		France.	England and Wales.
Under 12			$\frac{1}{7}$
From 12 to 16 exclusive		1.9	—
," 16 ,," 21†	inclusive	16.9	30.
," 21 ,," 30		34.4	32.2
," 30 ,," 40		23.5	14.6
," 40 ,," 50		13.5	6.9
," 50 ,," 60		6.3	3.2
Above 60		3.5	1.4

Thus, unless the system of police is wholly different in France, and juvenile offenders are not brought before the courts of assize, there is a most startling difference in the early development of crime in the two countries. But the above supposition will not account for the difference, because the latter is not confined solely to juvenile offenders, but prevails to the end of the scale. In England the proportion under 17 is 6 times as great, and even under 12 is nearly as great as under 16 in France. There is a difference of one year in the scale which cannot be adjusted. From 17 to 21 it is nearly twice as great in England as it is in France during the same number of years, from 16 to 20. Between 20 and 30, it is nearly equal in both countries. Beyond that age the excess is on the side of France; from 30 to 40 the proportion is $\frac{1}{2}$ greater, from 40 to 60 it is double, and above that age it is $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as great.

Combined influence of Sex and Age.

In both countries crime develops itself at an earlier age among males; and, on the other hand, prevails to a greater extent among females at the more advanced periods of life. This is particularly the case in England. But in neither respect is the real excess so great as would

* *Essai sur la Statistique Morale de la France.* Planche, 7.

† In the French scale, the first year of each period is included; in the English it is excluded, being united to the previous period.

appear from a mere inspection of the tables, because there is a considerable excess of males existing in the population under the age of 15, amounting to nearly 3 per cent., and a more than corresponding excess in the number of females at other periods. Another defect in the comparison usually drawn is, that a real difference at one period of life will cause an apparent difference, by disturbing the relative proportions at another. We shall remedy this defect by showing the proportion of the two sexes to one another at each age; but, for the sake of comparing the two countries, we shall first give the per-cent-age proportion of each sex taken separately.

	FRANCE.		ENGLAND		
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	
Under 16 .. .	1·9	1·4	Under 12 .. .	1·8	1·4
From 16 to 20 ..	16·9	13·5	From 12 to 16 ..	10·3	8·6
,, 21 .. 30 ..	34·4	34·3	,, 17 ..	30·4	26·7
,, 31 .. 40 ..	23·5	26·5	,, 22 ..	32·4	31·6
,, 41 .. 50 ..	13·5	15·0	,, 31 ..	14·3	16·6
,, 51 .. 60 ..	6·3	6·0	,, 41 ..	6·4	9·0
Above 60	3·5	3·3	,, 51 ..	3·0	4·3
			Above 60	1·4	1·8
Total .. .	<u>100·0</u>	<u>100·0</u>	Total .. .	<u>100·0</u>	<u>100·0</u>

In England the excess in the proportion of males, under 12 years of age, is 28 per cent., and in the subsequent periods, 20, 14, and 2 per cent. until the age of 40, when the excess turns upon the side of the females, and amounts at the several consecutive periods, to 16, 42, 48, and 28 per cent. respectively.

Comparing, however, the two sexes with each other, it is found that while the average relation is 82·8 males to 17·2 females, it is 2·7 per cent. greater among males under 12; 2·3 per cent. greater between 12 and 16, and 1·7 per cent. greater between 17 and 21. Between 22 and 30 it is within a small fraction of the average, but between 31 and 40 it is 2·4 per cent. in excess on the side of the females, and from 41 to 60, 5·9 per cent. Above 60 the excess diminishes to 2·9 per cent.

	Difference of the proportion of Males compared with the average.			
	Males.	Females.	Excess.	Deficiency.
Under 12 .. .	85·5	14·5	2·7	..
From 12 to 16 ..	85·1	14·9	2·3	..
,, 17 .. 21 ..	84·5	15·5	1·7	..
,, 22 .. 30 ..	83·0	17·0	·2	..
,, 31 .. 40 ..	80·4	19·6	..	2·4
,, 41 .. 50 ..	76·9	23·1	..	5·9
,, 51 .. 60 ..	77·0	23·0	..	5·8
Above 60	79·9	20·1	..	2·9
Average .. .	<u>82·8</u>	<u>17·2</u>		

Influence of Age upon the nature of the Offences.

There are also great differences in the nature of the offences committed at various periods of life, as will be seen in the next abridged table. The crime which is most frequent at an early age, is simple

larceny. The proportion which persons under 12 years of age, committed for this offence, bears to the whole number, is 2·3 per cent., and the actual number is so great, that it leaves a very small number of offenders of this age guilty of other crimes. Among the most prominent of these, however, are stealing from the person by servants, and house-breaking. In the latter case, it is obvious that the offenders are the tools of older parties, and are employed on account of their small size and slenderness, for the purpose of obtaining an easier access to the intended objects of depredation. Among offenders between 12 and 16, the same offences still hold the predominance, but the proportion of housebreakers is increased. Malicious offences and frauds also become more frequent.

In the remaining periods of life we must confine ourselves to a few principal classes, otherwise the inquiry would run too much into detail for the present occasion. The two periods from 17 to 21, and from 22 to 30, are the most interesting, from the great difference in the character of the crimes peculiar to each. In the former, acts of theft accompanied with violence, greatly predominate; indicating, thus, the influence of physical strength, combined with passion unrestrained by experience or acquired prudence. Robbery and housebreaking each amount to 41 per cent. of their respective total numbers. But there is a marked difference in the two crimes. Almost all robberies, viz. 86·4 per cent. are committed by persons between the ages of 17 and 30, but a considerable proportion of acts of housebreaking are committed at other ages. Hence, although the proportions are alike between 17 and 21, there is 11 per cent. less in housebreaking between 22 and 30. In larcenies without violence, the proportion is almost the same at both periods, being 30·5 per cent. at the earlier, and 30·3 at the more advanced age. In the remaining classes of crime the excess is considerably on the side of the latter period, and particularly in sexual offences, and malicious offences against the person, the proportion of both of which is much below the average at the earlier period.

Between 31 and 40 there is no class of crime in which the proportion exceeds two-thirds of the proportion between 22 and 30, and there are only three classes in which it surpasses the proportion between 17 and 21, although the number of years is double. These three are sexual offences, frauds, and malicious offences against the person, and the percentage proportion is in each within a fraction of 22 per cent. Between 41 and 50 the same offences, together with malicious offences against property, maintain the same preponderance, the highest being sexual offences, the proportion of which exceeds larcenies without violence by more than one-half, and is from 4 to 6 times as great as housebreaking or robbery. From 51 to 60 the sexual offences continue to keep the same rank, and beyond 60 their proportion is nearly double that of any other offence, except coining, which is the next most prevalent class at this age, the difference being 37 per cent. Frauds and malicious offences against property also maintain a high place.

Centesimal Proportion of Offenders (of both Sexes united) at various Periods of Age, distinguishing several Classes of Offences.

AGES.	NATURE OF OFFENCES.								
	Malicious		Simple Thefts.	Thefts by Fraud.	Housebreaking.	Robbery.	Coining.	Other Offences against the State.	Total.
	Sexual.	Against Property.							
Under 12 . .		1·6	0·4	2·1	1·0	1·2	0·3	0·5	0·2 1·7
From 12 to 16 . .	3·4	8·2	3·0	11·7	6·1	9·3	3·0	3·9	2·1 10·0
17 21 . .	18·0	23·6	18·9	30·5	19·9	41·1	41·6	29·1	26·3 30·0
22 30 . .	32·8	35·6	39·1	30·3	32·1	33·8	44·8	37·8	44·5 32·2
31 40 . .	22·4	13·9	22·0	14·0	22·2	10·0	7·6	15·9	16·8 14·6
41 50 . .	12·8	10·6	10·6	6·8	11·5	2·9	2·0	6·8	5·9 6·9
51 60 . .	6·9	4·3	4·3	3·2	5·2	1·2	0·5	3·3	3·0 3·2
Above 60 . .	3·7	2·2	1·7	1·4	2·0	0·5	0·2	2·7	1·2 1·4
Total . .	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0

In comparing the two sexes separately, the most remarkable features are the excess of males charged with sexual offences at an advanced age; of females charged with malicious offences against the person between 40 and 50; and of females charged with larcenies without violence beyond 30. Larceny from the person is most prevalent among males under 21, and among females above that age. On the other hand, larceny by female servants is more frequent at an early age than among males; and, in connexion with this fact it is worthy of note, that the number of male servants charged with larceny is nearly three times as great as that of female servants, whereas there is reason to suppose that the number of female servants considerably exceeds that of the other sex. This part of the subject admits of further investigation, which will doubtless elicit some curious and instructive results.

The remaining feature of crime exhibited in the official tables is the degree of instruction which the offenders have received. But this is a subject of so much importance, and possesses so much intrinsic interest, that it appears expedient to reserve it for a separate article.

Some persons may perhaps inquire the practical utility of this investigation—how a knowledge of the above facts will conduce to the main object connected with this subject, the repression of crime. Our reply is, that a standard of comparison having been once obtained, we can ascertain how each locality in which we are individually interested differs from the average; and, by examining the nature of the offences committed and the condition of the offenders, we may elicit the local causes which create an excess. If crime in the county of Warwick be found to be more frequent than in any other county except Middlesex and Gloucester*—if burglary and housebreaking appear to be more common in the counties surrounding the metropolis than even in the metropolis itself †—if early depravity, connected with more than ordinary ignorance on the part of the offenders, display itself in some districts more than in others—we obtain a knowledge of facts which are of immediate interest and importance to those localities, and which, while

* See p. 338.

† Pp. 340-1.

they indicate the existence of certain pressing evils, and the necessity for attempting their removal, will usually point out the measures by which that can be most readily and speedily effected.

SECTION 2.—COMPARATIVE VIEW OF CRIME IN VARIOUS DISTRICTS.

In the preceding pages an attempt has been made to exhibit the character of crime in the whole of England and Wales, without reference to the peculiarities of any district or any class of the population. As the tables present the returns for each county separately, this may be done to some extent, but subject always to this imperfection, that each county contains districts in which very different classes of population exist, such as urban, rural, manufacturing, &c., which cannot be separated; and that, in all, the proportions of these classes differ, so that the comparison can only be approximate. In determining the districts into which the several counties of England and Wales should be classed, for the purposes of comparison, some consideration was necessary. The division might have been local, distinguishing them in sections according to their geographical position, as M. Guerry has done in his work on the Moral Statistics of France, and as we understand he has also done in an inquiry, which he has completed, into the Criminal Statistics of England: but this would not have afforded any useful comparison. Within the small space of this island, among a people who, with the exception of the Welsh, whatever may have been their original country, have long since been united as one family—among whom civilisation is nearly equally spread,—and who are subject to little or no variety of climate—it is not probable that a mere local or territorial division would exert any influence with regard to the commission of crime. We know, or rather we believe, for we have never possessed the data to form a correct comparison, that the character of crime in the South of Europe is different from that which exhibits itself in more northerly countries: this we attribute to the action of climate upon the temper and habits of individuals; but no such difference exists in England. We observe a marked distinction between the national characters of the French and the German people, of the English and Irish; and this we attribute to a difference in their origin—to their having sprung from different races, and having continued up to the present time unmixed with the surrounding nations; but no such distinctions can be traced in England. Excepting in Wales, scarcely a feature of the several races from which our present population has sprung remains distinct: Briton, Roman, Saxon, Dane, and Norman are all blended together, and their national character is totally lost, except perhaps in some sequestered spot, in which partial traces of the primitive character and language of the first settlers may still be found. Such is a valley near Kentmere in Westmoreland, where, it is stated, that the original language of the Danish inhabitants is retained in so high a degree of purity, that a native of Denmark at the present time is able to hold a ready conversation with the peasantry in his own language.* But this

* A friend of the author, happening to travel through this valley a few years ago with a Danish servant, found this to be the case.

is a remarkable exception; and it does not appear that any advantage whatever would be derived from a comparison of territorial divisions. A more philosophical division, and one which is more likely to yield useful results, is that which is founded upon the character of the population. Experience teaches us that the employments of the people exert the most important influence upon their physical condition; and it appears reasonable to believe that their operation is also very powerful upon their social and moral character. Crime is one of the strongest evidences of such an influence: if, therefore, we can trace its action among different classes of the community, we shall acquire one instrument for estimating the amount and tendency of that power, and shall probably throw a light upon the subject which will lead to other and still more important discoveries.

The several divisions which it would be desirable to make appear to be those of town and rural, agricultural and manufacturing, mining and maritime classes. These might admit of some subdivisions. The towns might be divided into metropolitan sea-ports, and places of fashionable resort. The agricultural section presents two distinct features, pasture and tillage; and manufactures might be classed according to the material used, as vegetable products or metals, &c.; or according to the process, as by weaving or smelting; or the mode in which they are conducted, as in factories or in the dwellings of the labourers: but we must be content with such divisions as the classification of the tables in counties admit, and these are confined to four, viz., agricultural, manufacturing, mining, and metropolitan. The former two have each been subdivided into two districts, with the view of examining whether any material local differences exist. The distinctive character of each county has been ascertained by means of the Population Returns in 1831, in which the number of persons employed in agriculture, manufactures, and trade, are separately stated. In some counties a more particular knowledge of the population was requisite, and in a few it was very difficult to assign a preponderance; but it is believed that the classification is in general, sufficiently correct.

The first subdivision of the agricultural class includes all the counties in the east of England, south of the Wash, except Middlesex, Essex, and Kent. As Lincoln is the only agricultural county north of this line, and immediately adjoins the district, it might have been included, but its exclusion does not involve an error. The second subdivision includes the six southern counties of Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Wilts, Hants, and Sussex. There remain four other agricultural counties, besides Lincoln, whose situation prevented their combination with the others, and which did not form a class by themselves, viz., Hereford, Shropshire, Cumberland, and Westmoreland. The latter two are so distinct in character from the rest, that they might be placed in a separate division.*

The northern division of manufacturing counties includes Lancashire, Cheshire, Stafford, Derby, Nottingham, and Leicester. In all of these, except Stafford, weaving and the several processes to which its materials

* Another division of the agricultural counties has since suggested itself to the author, and will probably be the subject of a future comparison, viz., maritime and inland counties.

are subject, form the chief employment; but in some mining is pursued to a considerable extent. This is particularly the case in Staffordshire, in which county also the manufactures consist chiefly of pottery and hardware. Although Leicestershire is a great grazing county, the population, not only of the towns but of the villages also, are chiefly employed in manufactures, which they carry on at their own dwellings. The second division of this class contains the four counties of Warwick, Worcester, Monmouth, and Gloucester. Weaving to any extent is only carried on in the last.

The extent of Yorkshire is so great, and the occupations of the inhabitants of the West Riding are so different from those of the other two, in which, however, the preponderance of numbers exist, that as the Ridings could not be shown separately, it was necessary to keep the county distinct from either the manufacturing or agricultural class. By this means, however, an easy standard of comparison for Wales is afforded, as the population of the county is exactly double that of the principality.

There are four mining counties, viz., Cornwall, Glamorgan, Durham, and Northumberland. The rest of Wales is shown separately—the number of offenders being so small and the condition of the population so similar, that it was not expedient to distinguish the counties; while the distinctive character of the people, sprung from a different race, speaking a different language, and isolated by situation from the rest of England, together with the mountainous nature of the country, affords sufficient reasons for keeping it separate from the agricultural division, to which, with the exception of the counties of Glamorgan, Denbigh, and Anglesea, it would properly belong.

The remaining division is the Metropolitan, including, besides Middlesex, the three counties which immediately adjoin the metropolis. So large a portion of the suburbs of London is situated in Surrey, that it is necessarily placed in this division. It was considered that the same reason would apply to Kent and Essex, particularly to the former, in which Greenwich and Deptford are situated: and in some respects this opinion is found to be justified; but in others the difference between these two counties and Middlesex is so great, that, for the purpose of some comparisons, they cannot be included with the latter.

The same particulars which have been exhibited, with respect to the whole of England and Wales, have been prepared for each county separately, and for each of the districts above described. We may thus trace out the differences observable in the nature of the crimes, the sex, age, and degree of instruction in each part of England, and among each class of the population; and although it must necessarily be done very briefly on the present occasion, the materials are prepared for a more minute and rigid investigation, to which at an early period they will be subjected.

Of course, no comparison could be established between the several districts until the population of each was determined. This was therefore done in the manner previously explained, by calculating the increase since 1831, in each county separately, according to the rate of increase which occurred in each between 1821 and 1831. The total population thus estimated, amounted in 1836 to 15,026,447. The

agricultural district contained 4,785,298, or 31.8 per cent. of the whole. The eastern section of this district contained 1,866,700 inhabitants, and the southern 2,000,798, amounting to 12.4 and 13.3 per cent. respectively. The whole of the manufacturing district contained 4,182,867, or 27.8 per cent.; the northern section containing 3,048,671, or 20 per cent., and the southern 1,134,296, or 7.8 per cent. Wales, exclusive of Glamorgan, contained 713,301 inhabitants, or 4.8 per cent. of all England; York, 1,490,583, or 9.9 per cent. The population of the mining districts amounted to 987,776, or 6.6 per cent., and that of the four metropolitan counties to 2,866,622, or 19.1 per cent.

It has already been shown that the official tables, from the omission of the summary convictions, cannot be in any way used as evidence of the *actual* amount of crime committed or detected in the country; we shall not therefore attempt to use them for that purpose: but as that omission is universal, it will affect all parts equally, or nearly equally. The only differences which suggest themselves as likely to arise, may be occasioned by superior facilities, in some counties, for the prosecution of offenders at the assizes, or by variations in the practice of individual magistrates and petty sessions; but the latter circumstance will not much influence the results, as those authorities being numerous in each county, and all independent of each other, the differences will probably very nearly balance one another, and the average variation of each county from this cause will be trifling. The former circumstance will have a greater influence; still the Returns appear to afford the means of ascertaining the *relative* amount of crime detected, or at least the relative nature of crime detected, in each county; but they will not show the relative amount of crime committed, because that will depend entirely upon the comparative efficiency of the police. The *actual* amount of crime committed can only be ascertained by means of a public officer charged to take cognizance, and make a record, of every offence of which he can obtain information. The following statements will therefore indicate the *relative* condition, first of each division, and then of each county as regards crime detected, or, in other words, criminals brought to trial.

Number of Offences in different Districts.

For the sake of easier comparison, we will adopt the proportion of all the criminals to the total population as unity (1.00), and examine how each district, tested in the same manner, exceeds or falls short of that average.

How far the deductions, drawn from these tables, are invalidated by the acknowledged difference in the efficiency of the police in the several districts cannot be estimated; but although this circumstance may have considerable influence upon the proportions, it appears very doubtful whether it will destroy the general results, which are marked by such great and consistent differences: at all events the statement will afford evidence of the comparative activity of the police in the several counties.

C O M P A R I S O N O F D I S T R I C T S.

Agricultural,	Eastern	.	.	.	.	.	1.07
,	Southern	.	.	.	.	.	<u>1.01</u>
,	Total	.	.	.	.	.	.99

Manufacturing, Northern	•	•	•	•	1.08
,, Southern	•	•	•	•	1.30
,, Total	•	•	•	•	1.14
York	•	•	•	•	•60
Wales	•	•	•	•	•31
Mining	•	•	•	•	•45
Metropolitan—Middlesex	•	•	•	•	1.61
,, Other Counties	•	•	•	•	1.23
,, Total	•	•	•	•	1.44

COMPARISON OF COUNTIES.

Agricultural.

Eastern.	Southern.	Other.			
Hertford....	1.34	Somerset ...	1.27	Hereford	1.04
Oxford	1.13	Hants	1.16	Lincoln ....	.80
Norfolk	1.09	Wilts	1.08	Salop ....	.71
Suffolk	1.08	Sussex ....	.97	Cumberland ..	.49
Berks	1.07	Dorset....	.89	Westmoreland	.31
Cambridge...	1.02	Devon .....	.74		
Bedford	1.01				
Bucks.....	1.01	Average..	1.01		
Northampton.	.86				
Huntingdon..	.85				
Rutland....	.71				

Average... 1.07

Manufacturing.

Northern.	Southern.	Mining.	Metropolitan.
Lancaster...	1.18	Warwick ...	1.42
Stafford	1.12	Gloucester ..	1.42
Chester....	1.11	Worcester ..	1.09
Leicester ...	1.11	Monmouth ..	.85
Nottingham ..	.86		
Derby .....	.56	Average....	1.30
		Average.....	.45
Average..	1.08		Average..... 1.23

From the first of these tables it appears that the metropolitan county exceeds the average by 61 per cent., and the manufacturing district exceeds it by 14 per cent. The agricultural district is 1 per cent. less than the average; York, 40 per cent.; the mining district, 55 per cent.; and Wales, 69 per cent. Thus crime in the metropolis appears to be three-fifths more frequent than in the agricultural district, and two-fifths more frequent than in the manufacturing district. The contrast with the mining districts and with Wales is still more striking; the proportion being nearly four times as great as in the former, and more than five times as great as in the latter. An examination of the several counties separately proves the correctness of this method of comparison, and tends to confirm the deductions which may be drawn from the results. Of these we will enumerate the chief, and then show the support which they derive from a reference to the several counties.

1st. Crime prevails to the greatest extent in large towns.

2nd. The difference between manufacturing and agricultural counties, in which the influence of large towns is not much felt, is not very great.

3rd. Crime is very much below the average in mining counties.

4th. And it is still less frequent in Wales and in the mountainous district of the North of England.

In proof of the first assertion we may adduce the following facts:—The proportion of criminals in Middlesex far exceeds that of any other county, and an excess of so uniform and great an amount that it cannot be accounted for by accident is observable in all the counties which adjoin the metropolis. Hertfordshire, which is well known to be within reach of the evil influences of the metropolis, is the only county in the eastern agricultural district which exceeds in any remarkable degree the average of that district, and its marked approximation to the metropolitan counties, proves that its proximity to London is the chief cause of the difference. Somerset and Hampshire considerably exceed the average of the southern agricultural district; the former contains Bath, and the latter Portsmouth. Warwick and Gloucester are similarly distinguished in the manufacturing districts—Birmingham in the former, and Bristol and Cheltenham in the latter, appear to cause the preponderance. Another circumstance may increase the effect produced by the first two of these towns—they are both situated on the borders of their respective counties; Birmingham being within one or two miles of the two adjoining counties: hence a number of offences committed out of the counties of Warwick and Gloucester, but on the confines of those immediately adjoining, are included in the Returns for the former, in consequence of their being perpetrated by inhabitants of Birmingham and Bristol, who are apprehended and committed for trial within those towns.

With regard to the second point, it will be seen that the average of the northern manufacturing district, although it includes Lancashire and Cheshire, is only 1 per cent. greater than the eastern agricultural district. If Lancashire, which contains many large towns besides Liverpool and Manchester, were excluded, the average would be considerably less. Probable causes have been assigned for the excess of crime in Warwick and Gloucester. If those counties and Lancashire be excluded from the valuation, the average of the remaining manufacturing counties is exactly equal (each being 99 per cent.) to the average of all the agricultural counties.

The third position is incontrovertible, for the proportion of criminals in all the mining counties, although widely separated from one another, is uniformly less than half the average. Derbyshire also, in which much mining is carried on, but which has been placed among the manufacturing counties, scarcely exceeds half the average. This fact would almost afford a sufficient reason for transferring this county to the mining division.

With respect to the fourth point, viz. the infrequency of crime in mountainous districts, it will be seen that not only is Wales two-thirds below the average, but that Westmoreland is the same, and Cumberland is not quite one-half.

Nature of Offences in different Districts.

The next subject of inquiry is the nature of the offences committed in the several districts, and this comparison will not be subject to the same doubts as the last, arising from differences in the efficiency of the police, as it must be supposed that all classes of offences will in general be equally affected by that circumstance. The relative proportions therefore of the principal classes of offences to the population of each

district, calculated in the same manner as before, the totals of each being taken as unity, will be found in the following table:—

Description of Offences.	Agricul- tural.	Manufac- turing.	York.	Wales.	Mining.	Metro- politan.	Middle- sex.
Sexual	•79	1.07	•73	•33	•60	1.00	2.20
Malicious against property	1.58	•85	•48	•43	•63	1.08	•39
, , the person	•80	•91	•48	•54	•59	1.21	2.61
Larceny	•95	1.15	•62	2.52	4.29	1.23	1.61
Fraud	•84	1.11	•27	•43	•53	1.08	1.95
Housebreaking	1.13	1.13	•45	•37	•37	1.44	1.05
Robbery	1.19	1.13	•53	•27	•52	1.14	•97
Poaching	1.67	1.14	•60	•45	•09	•67	Nil.
Coining	•64	1.11	•22	•22	•54	1.33	2.94
Riots	1.22	1.16	•44	•83	•66	1.15	•52

From this it will be seen that sexual offences are more than double the average in Middlesex, and somewhat exceed it in the manufacturing counties; on the other hand, they are $\frac{1}{5}$ th less in the agricultural counties, $\frac{1}{4}$ th in York, $\frac{2}{3}$ ths in the mining counties, and $\frac{2}{3}$ rd less in Wales. This great difference in the four last districts arises partly from the small number of persons who are committed in them for keeping disorderly houses.

Malicious offences against property are nearly 60 per cent. above the average in the agricultural districts, and somewhat greater in the counties surrounding the metropolis. In Middlesex they are less frequent than in any other district. The offences by which these differences are caused are arson and killing and maiming cattle. It is remarkable how small a number of cases of arson occur in Middlesex. During the last five years only 15 persons have been committed in that county for capital arson, and 3 for attempts at arson, averaging less than 4 in a year.

Malicious offences against the person exceed the average in Middlesex to the extent of 160 per cent.; but this is chiefly owing to a great excess in the number of assaults. In attempts to maim and murder, and in manslaughter, the difference is not great, and in murder the proportion is very much in favour of Middlesex, as will appear from the following comparison:—

Districts.	Assaults.	Attempts to Maim and Murder.	Manslaughter.	Murder.
Agricultural . . .	•77	..	1.11	..
Manufacturing . . .	•72	..	1.09	..
York	•34	..	•73	..
Wales	•39	..	•60	..
Mining	•53	..	•62	..
Metropolitan . . .	1.31	..	1.11	..
Middlesex	3.51	..	1.31	..
Average	1.00	..	1.00	..

The agricultural counties exhibit the exact average as regards murder. In assaults and manslaughter they are below the average, and only slightly above it in attempts to maim and murder. In manslaughter and murder the manufacturing counties are $\frac{1}{4}$ rd above the average. In the three metropolitan counties assaults and murder exhibit a similar amount of excess; but in Middlesex, assaults are 251 per cent. above the average, while manslaughter is 5 per cent. and murder 48 per cent. below the average. These results in the metropolitan counties probably arise from the presence of a numerous police force, which, by affording

the means of immediate arrest in cases of assault, augments the number of offences of that class brought before the magistrates, while it prevents quarrels from proceeding to a more serious or fatal termination. In this point of view the result is very satisfactory, as affording a striking, and hitherto unobserved, evidence of the utility of an efficient system of police.

In the next class of offences, thefts without violence, Middlesex is 61 per cent., and the manufacturing counties are 15 per cent., above the average: the agricultural counties are 5 per cent. below the average. There is a remarkable excess in Wales and in the mining counties, the former being 152 per cent. and the latter 329 per cent. above the average. This result is confirmed by a comparison of the several classes of offences in these two districts; and hence the fact may be considered to be established, that thefts without violence are the prevalent crimes in these parts of the country. In Wales 61 per cent. of all the offences, and in the mining counties 71 per cent., belong to this class.

Frauds are nearly double the average in Middlesex; in the manufacturing district they exceed the average by 11 per cent., and in the agricultural districts they fall short of it by 16 per cent.

Among the crimes with violence, housebreaking is exactly equal in the agricultural and manufacturing districts; and, strange to say, is more frequent there than in Middlesex by 8 per cent. But there is a still greater excess, amounting to 40 per cent., in the counties which surround the metropolis, including Hertford. This is an evidence either of the effect of a well-organised and efficient police in preventing this crime in a crowded city, or of the greater temptation and superior facilities which present themselves for its commission in the outskirts of a city.

With regard to violent robberies the proportion is greatest, and exceeds the average by 19 per cent., in the agricultural district. It is about equal in the manufacturing counties and in those adjoining the metropolis. In Middlesex it is 3 per cent. below the average, which affords another proof of the benefits arising from a good system of police.

Poaching, as might be expected, is much more frequent in the agricultural counties than in other parts, but in the manufacturing district it also exceeds the average. In the mining counties it is very rare: in Middlesex there was only one case during the five years.

Coining prevails to a much greater extent in the metropolis and its neighbourhood than elsewhere, but it also exceeds the average in the manufacturing districts. In the agricultural counties it is one-third below the average.

Riots and assaults on peace-officers are most frequent in the agricultural counties, but do not much exceed the proportion which exists in the manufacturing counties and in those adjoining the metropolis. In Middlesex itself they only amount to one-half the average, although common assaults have been shown to have exceeded it by 250 per cent. In Wales there is a great excess beyond the proportion which that principality holds in most other classes of crime.

The county of York presents no feature worthy of remark in any particular class of crime, but it is uniformly greatly below the average.

Reviewing each district separately, there is in Middlesex a great excess of assaults, coining, sexual offences, and fraud, exceeding, or nearly equalling, double the average. Manslaughter, housebreaking,

and robbery are about the average; riots and murder are $\frac{1}{2}$, and malicious offences against property $\frac{3}{8}$ ths less than the average. Poaching appears not to be practised in the county.

In the three metropolitan counties of Surrey, Kent, and Essex, manslaughter and poaching are below the average; sexual offences are exactly at the average; malicious offences against property, frauds, attempts to maim and murder, robbery, and riots, are from $\frac{1}{12}$ th to $\frac{1}{8}$ th in excess; larceny is $\frac{1}{8}$ th, assaults and murder are $\frac{1}{4}$ rd, and housebreaking, is nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ in excess.

In the manufacturing counties, malicious offences against property and assaults are considerably below the average. All other offences are from $\frac{1}{4}$ th to $\frac{1}{6}$ th in excess, except manslaughter and murder, which average $\frac{2}{5}$ ths in excess.

The agricultural counties rank next. In these, coining, assaults, sexual offences, and manslaughter, are from $\frac{1}{9}$ th to $\frac{1}{3}$ rd below the average. Larceny is $\frac{1}{20}$ th below it, and murder is exactly the average. Attempts to maim and murder, housebreaking, robbery, and riots, are from $\frac{1}{8}$ th to $\frac{1}{6}$ th in excess; and malicious offences against property and poaching are more than $\frac{1}{2}$ above the average.

In York no class of crime equals the average. Manslaughter is $\frac{1}{4}$ th, and murder $\frac{1}{3}$ rd, less. Sexual offences and attempts to maim and murder are $\frac{1}{8}$ th less. Larceny is $\frac{2}{5}$ ths less. The remaining offences are about $\frac{1}{2}$ of the average, with the exception of fraud, which amounts only to $\frac{1}{8}$ th, and coining to $\frac{1}{6}$ th.

In the mining counties almost all the classes of offences range from $\frac{2}{5}$ ths to $\frac{3}{8}$ ths less than the average, except larcenies without violence, which exhibit an enormous excess, being $4\frac{1}{2}$ times as great as the average, and poaching, which amounts only to $\frac{1}{10}$ th of the average.

Offences in Wales vary from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ ths less than the average, with the exception of riots, which are only $\frac{1}{8}$ th less; manslaughter, which slightly exceeds the average, and thefts without violence, which, as in the mining counties, greatly exceed the average, though not to the same extent, being only $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as great.

We will not at present extend the inquiry to the several counties of England, but the local interest which must attach itself in Birmingham, to the criminal statistics of the county of Warwick, is an inducement to make one exception, and to examine that county with the same minuteness as the several districts. A comparison of each class of offences in Warwick will give the following results:—

	Average of all England.	Warwick.	Difference.	
			Excess.	Deficiency.
Sexual Offences	.	.58	..	.42
Malicious Offences against Property	.	1.22	.22	..
Assaults	.	.55	..	.45
Attempts to Maim or Murder	.	1.33	.33	..
Manslaughter	.	.81	..	.19
Murder	.	1.33	.33	..
Stealing without Violence	.	1.44	.44	..
by Fraud	.	.97	..	.03
Burglary and Housebreaking	.	2.89	1.89	..
Robbery	.	2.73	1.73	..
Poaching	.	1.31	.31	..
Coining	.	1.70	.70	..
Riots and Assaults on Peace-Officers	.	1.04	.04	..

From this it appears that the greatest excess in this county exists in cases of housebreaking and robbery, and that the amount in these two classes is nearly 3 times the average of England and Wales. In coining there is an excess of nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ ths; in stealing without violence, of nearly $\frac{1}{2}$; in murder and attempts to maim or murder, and in poaching, of $\frac{1}{3}$ rd; and in malicious offences against property, of $\frac{1}{4}$ th: stealing by fraud, and riots, are about the average; manslaughter is $\frac{1}{4}$ th less; and assaults and sexual offences are little more than $\frac{1}{2}$ of the average. The low rate of the latter is owing chiefly to the small number of committals for keeping disorderly houses. In the five years there were only 6 persons charged with this offence, while in Lancashire there were 248 persons charged during the same period.

Sex of Offenders in different Districts.

There are considerable differences in the proportion which females bear to males in the several districts of England. Upon the average of the kingdom, female offenders amount to 17.2 per cent. of the whole number. In Middlesex the proportion is 24.1 per cent.; in the manufacturing districts 17.8 per cent.; and in the agricultural counties 13.6 per cent.; the difference between the former and latter being as much as 10.5 per cent. In the mining districts it is as high as 21.1 per cent., but the excess exists only in the two counties of Glamorgan and Northumberland.

The counties, taken separately, exhibit many irregularities, which require further investigation. In Devonshire the proportion is 25 per cent., exceeding even that of the metropolitan county. In Lancashire it is 22.5 per cent.; while, on the other hand, it is as low as 7 per cent. in Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire, and does not exceed 8 and 9 per cent. respectively in Hertfordshire and Essex. In the eastern agricultural district it is 10.3 per cent., while in the southern district it is 16 per cent. An examination of the nature of the crimes committed by females in the several counties will throw light upon the cause of these differences, but it will be a work of considerable labour, and must for the present be deferred.

Ages of Offenders in different Districts.

The first part of the next table shows the actual proportion of offenders at each age in the several districts, and the second part exhibits the relative proportion of the same to the average of the whole, from which the comparative frequency of crime at particular ages in each district may be deduced. [See Table next page.]

The following are the principal results:—There is, first, a marked difference in the two sexes, the proportions of which are frequently reversed, as will be immediately shown. In the agricultural districts, as well as in Yorkshire and in Wales, which partake in a great measure of the same character, crime is considerably below the average at the early periods of life among the males, but rather above it among the females. In the manufacturing districts, during the early periods of life, it rather exceeds the average in both sexes. In the mining districts there is a great excess in both sexes under the age of 12, but in the next three periods of life the proportion falls below the average in both, and increases considerably beyond the average at the advanced

Ages.	Males.							Females.																	
	Agricultural.			Manufacturing.			Wales.			York.			Mining.			Middlesex.									
	Under 12	12 to 16	17 to 21	22 to 30	31 to 40	41 to 50	51 to 60	Above 60	Under 12	12 to 16	17 to 21	22 to 30	31 to 40	41 to 50	51 to 60	Above 60	Under 12	12 to 16	17 to 21	22 to 30	31 to 40	41 to 50	51 to 60	Above 60	
Actual Proportion.																									
Under 12	1.4	1.8	1.0	1.1	2.7	2.5	1.8	1.3	1.6	1.8	1.5	1.8	1.5	1.8	1.3	1.5	1.2	1.0	1.2	1.0	1.2	1.0	1.2	1.0	
From 12 to 16	8.4	11.2	5.6	8.7	10.6	13.1	10.3	9.0	8.3	3.6	8.6	8.3	8.8	8.6	8.6	8.6	8.6	8.6	8.6	8.6	8.6	8.6	8.6	8.6	
17 to 21	29.1	30.8	32.3	30.1	26.1	32.9	30.4	27.1	22.1	1.7	5.7	1.7	24.2	2.6	6.6	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.6
22 to 30	35.1	31.7	34.4	35.3	32.1	37.4	32.4	43.1	6.6	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.3	
31 to 40	14.4	14.3	19.3	15.1	15.8	13.4	14.3	15.5	15.5	15.5	15.5	15.5	15.5	15.5	15.5	15.5	15.5	15.5	15.5	15.5	15.5	15.5	15.5	15.5	
41 to 50	6.6	6.3	9.5	6.1	7.1	6.5	6.4	8.8	4.3	3.8	6.8	4.1	5.9	4.7	4.3	4.3	4.3	4.3	4.3	4.3	4.3	4.3	4.3	4.3	4.3
51 to 60	3.2	2.7	6.1	2.5	4.1	3.1	3.1	2.4	1.3	2.5	1.7	1.6	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4
Above 60	1.7	1.2	1.8	1.2	1.8	1.2	1.8	1.2	1.4	1.3	1.2	1.4	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2
Relative Proportion.																									
Under 12	78	100	55	61	130	139			87	107	120	100	120	87											
From 12 to 16	81	103	54	84	103	127			105	96	42	100	96	102											
17 to 21	96	101	73	99	85	108			102	105	70	103	85	91											
22 to 30	108	98	103	109	98	84	100		100	102	107	105	97	99											
31 to 40	101	100	135	105	115	93			94	98	154	87	114	107											
41 to 50	103	98	148	95	109	101			96	91	81	96	111	115											
51 to 60	106	90	203	83	136	103			100	88	158	95	137	109											
Above 60	121	85	128	86	128	96			133	72	139	94	88	77											

periods of life. In Middlesex the excess under 21 is very considerable among the males, and is greatest at the earliest period, viz., under 12; while among the females the proportion is below the average under 21, and above it throughout the subsequent periods, until the age of 60, when, as in the male sex also, though in a greater degree, it falls below the average. In the agricultural districts, in Wales, and in the mining districts, the proportion increases considerably in the male sex, and in the two latter districts in the female sex also, beyond the age of 40; but in the manufacturing and metropolitan counties it decreases during the same period.

If these facts be combined with those previously noticed, that larcenies without violence are by far more prevalent in those metropolitan and manufacturing counties which contain a number of large and populous towns than in the agricultural counties in which such towns are comparatively few, and that those crimes are principally committed by persons at an early age, we arrive at the conclusion that the collection of large masses of the population in crowded cities conduces more than any thing else to the creation of those causes, whatever they be, which stimulate the commission of crime. Into these immediate causes we do not pretend to inquire. The data upon which the preceding remarks are founded afford no information upon the subject, and we will not throw suspicion upon the deductions which we have attempted legitimately to draw from them, by putting forth surmises which must be unsupported by facts. But we shall eagerly seek, and we trust that others will be led to seek, and to communicate to us, information which will tend to throw light upon those causes, and to which we venture to hope that the more perfect knowledge of the effects and tendencies of crime afforded by the preceding statements will serve in some measure as a useful guide.